

# Gabrielino

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The Gabrielino (gäbrēal'ēnō) are, in many ways, one of the most interesting—yet least known—of native California peoples. At the time of Spanish contact in 1769 they occupied the “most richly endowed coastal section in southern California” (Blackburn 1962-1963:6), which is most of present-day Los Angeles and Orange counties, plus several offshore islands (San Clemente, Santa Catalina, San Nicolas). With the possible exception of the Chumash, the Gabrielino were the wealthiest, most populous, and most powerful ethnic nationality in aboriginal southern California, their influence spreading as far north as the San Joaquin valley Yokuts, as far east as the Colorado River, and south into Baja California. Unfortunately, most if not all Gabrielinos were dead long before systematic ethnographic studies were instituted; and, as a result, knowledge of them and their lifeways is meager.

## Language, Territory, and Environment

Gabrielino was one of the Cupan languages in the Takic family, which is part of the Uto-Aztecan linguistic stock (Bright 1975).<sup>\*</sup> Internal linguistic differences existed, Harrington (1962:viii) suggesting four dialects and Kroeber (1925), six. Harrington's four-part division includes: Gabrielino proper, spoken mainly in the Los Angeles basin area; Fernandēño, spoken by people north of the Los Angeles basin, mainly in the San Fernando valley region; Santa Catalina Island dialect; and San Nicolas Island dialect—although according to Bright (1975) insufficient data exist to be sure of the Cupan affiliation of the San Nicolas speech. There were probably dialectal differences also between many mainland villages, a result not only of geographical separation but also of social, cultural, and linguistic mixing with neighboring non-Gabrielino speakers.

The names Gabrielino and Fernandēño (fernän'dā-nyō) refer to the two major Spanish missions established in Gabrielino territory—San Gabriel and San Fernando.

<sup>\*</sup> Italicized Gabrielino words have been written in a phonemic alphabet by Kenneth C. Hill, on the basis of John Peabody Harrington's unpublished field notes. The consonants are: (stops and affricate) *p, t, ɕ, k, kʰ, ʔ*; (fricatives) *s, ʃ, x, h*; (nasals) *m, n, ŋ*; (approximants) *v, ɸ, r, y, w*. Stressed vowels are *i, e [ɛ], a, o [ɔ], u*, which may occur long or short; in unstressed syllables the vowels are only *i [e], a, and u [ɔ]*.

It was to these two missions that the majority of the Indians living on the coastal plains and valleys of southern California were removed.

Although the major outlines of Gabrielino territorial occupation are known, the fixing of definitive boundaries is difficult. Generally, Gabrielino territory included the watersheds of the Los Angeles, San Gabriel, and Santa Ana rivers, several smaller intermittent streams in the Santa Monica and Santa Ana mountains, all of the Los Angeles basin, the coast from Aliso Creek in the south to Topanga Creek in the north, and the islands of San Clemente, San Nicolas, and Santa Catalina (fig. 1). The area thus bounded encompassed several biotic zones (such as Coast-Marsh, Coastal Strand, Prairie, Chaparral, Oak Woodland, Pine) and, following Hudson's (1971) studies, can be divided into four macro-environmental zones (excluding the islands): Interior Mountains/Adjacent Foothills, Prairie, Exposed Coast, and Sheltered Coast. Each area is characterized by a particular floral-faunal-geographical relationship that allows delineation of subsistence-settlement patterns “according to the macro-environmental setting.” The interior mountains and foothills, according to Hudson, comprise an area of numerous resources including “many small animals, deer, acorns, sage, piñon nuts, and a variety of other plants and animal foods.” Settlement-pattern studies

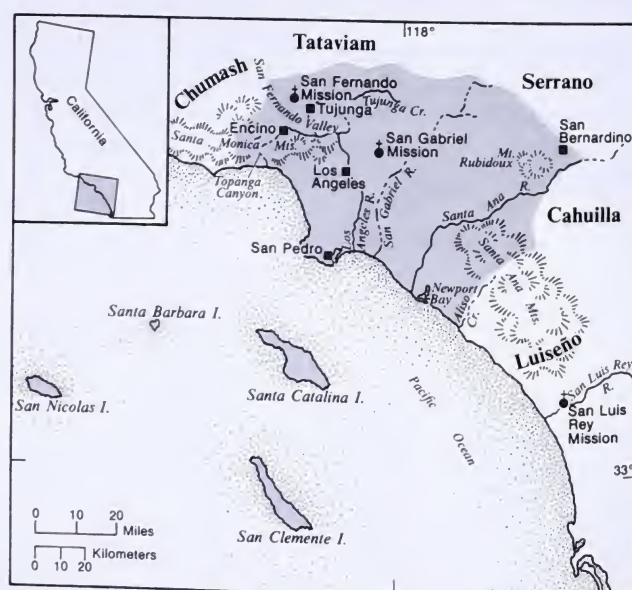


Fig. 1. Tribal territory.



(Hudson 1969) indicate the existence of both primary subsistence villages occupied continuously (perhaps by multiple clan groupings) and smaller secondary gathering camps (small family unit occupation) occupied at various times during the year, depending upon season and resource. All settlements in this zone, as well as in the other zones, were situated near water courses.

The Prairie, the area flanking the interior mountains on the north, east, and south, had as its predominant food resources acorns, sage, yucca, deer, numerous small rodents, cacti, plus a wide variety of plants, animals, and birds associated with marshes (Hudson 1971). Sites (both primary and secondary) were distributed throughout, but always near water courses or springs. The exposed coast from San Pedro south to Newport Bay was an area of concentrated secondary subsistence gathering camps with no primary subsistence villages immediately adjacent to the coast, but rather located inland. Various shellfish, some rays, sharks, and fish were the important food resources, while the offshore kelp beds (prime fishing areas for tuna and swordfish) were used year-round, especially in late summer and early fall. The sheltered coastal area stretching from San Pedro north to Topanga Canyon was characterized by primary subsistence villages located on the coast and secondary subsistence sites concentrated inland near areas of plant-food abundance (like sage stands and acorn or pine nut groves). The resources of this area were primarily marine (fish, shellfish, rays, sharks, sea mammals, and waterfowl), and "it is likely that some ecological elements of this region were also present in Area III (Exposed Coast), depending upon geographical features and weather" (Hudson 1971:56).

Climate varied according to locality, but average July temperatures along the coast ranged from approximately 68° F. to 76° F., with average January temperatures for the Gabrielino area as a whole ranging between 40° F. and 52° F. In the mountains, especially above 7,000 feet, temperatures often dipped as low as 30° F. in the winter (accompanied by snow), while summer temperatures on the prairies occasionally rose as high as 100° F.

While average annual precipitation in the twentieth century is generally less than 15 inches, as much as 40 inches is known in the higher mountains; and it is assumed that a similar pattern existed in precontact periods. The predominant climatic type is Hot Steppe, but near the coast and inland in the foothills and mountains the climatic type is warm Mediterranean. The predominant vegetation associations throughout most of the mainland area are grass and coastal sagebrush, especially in valley bottoms, and chaparral at higher elevations. Over 89 percent of Gabrielino territory was within the Sonoran life-zone, an extremely rich zone, while the balance was Forest Transition along the higher slopes and peaks of the San Gabriel and Santa Ana mountains.

The islands presented a different environmental picture. On San Nicolas Island, called *so'yn̄a* in Gabrielino, 75 miles southwest of Los Angeles, there were virtually no land mammals and a scarcity of exploitable floral resources. However, the little (32.2 sq. mi.), semidesert, windswept island was "particularly favored by the occurrence of abundant sea mammals" in the surrounding sea (Meighan and Eberhart 1953:113), including California and Steller sea lions, harbor seals, sea otters, and northern elephant seals. Additionally, the island was rich in sea fowl, while several different species of fish abounded in the surrounding sea. But the most important meat source was shellfish (rock scallops, mussels, several kinds of limpets, sea urchins), obtainable in large amounts along the island's rocky shoreline. From the hundreds of mortars and pestles (fig. 2) found on the island it is assumed that some plant material was prepared (some parts of the island supported trees, brush, mosses, grasses), but early Spanish references indicate mortars were also used in processing dried abalone meat.

The settlement pattern on San Nicolas is remarkably consistent through time. Villages were located either on sand dunes within 200 yards of shoreline or at considerable elevation above sea level inland on the island's central plateau. The determining factors in settlement pattern were access to the beaches or sea, fresh water (limited to a few springs in the inland's northwestern corner), and elevation affording an unobstructed view. From archeological research it appears that the densest



Dept. of Anthr., Smithsonian: top, 18670, 18698; bottom, 21887.

Fig. 2. Utensils for food preparation. top, Sandstone mortar and pestle collected at San Nicolas Island, diameter of mortar 23.5 cm; bottom, soapstone pot collected at Santa Barbara Island, same scale.



occupation of the island occurred in the few centuries preceding Spanish conquest, with a population of 600-1,200 at any one time (Meighan and Eberhart 1953).

Santa Catalina Island, called *pimu' ʔa* by the Gabrielino, is predominantly mountainous, with very limited plant resources (sparse, thin grasses, small shrubs, a few species of cacti) and few land animals (mainly deer, ground squirrels, foxes). There appears to have been limited use of migratory waterfowl, and quail, abundant today, may have also been used. However, as with San Nicolas Island, the major food resources were marine animals: fish, shellfish, and sea mammals. According to Meighan (1959:401) there was not just a "heavy dependency on sea mammals, but a specialized maritime economy which exploited dolphins and porpoises to a great extent." Permanent habitation sites were located mainly along the coast with interior sites not much more than trail-side camps occupied for very short periods. Although very little is known about the aboriginal inhabitants of the island, on the basis of archeological research at one of the coastal headland sites, Little Harbor, it has been established that the island was occupied as early as 2000 B.C. by a sizable number of people, because the Little Harbor site is areally large and the layers of cultural material are deep.

Very little information is available concerning habitation patterns on San Clemente Island, but the environmental situation is essentially identical with that of San Nicolas and Santa Catalina. As Kroeber (1925:620) noted, "the local culture on San Clemente . . . was clearly connected with that of Santa Catalina, perhaps dependent upon it; and Catalina was pure Gabrielino in speech." Therefore, cultural patterns were probably fairly similar to the mainland, or at least to those of Santa Catalina.

## History

Population estimates for the Gabrielino are next to impossible to make. Possibly more than 50 or 100 mainland villages were inhabited simultaneously with an average population in each village of 50-100 at the time of contact with Europeans. Early Spanish reports indicate a range of village population between 50 and 200 people. At Tujunga in 1797 there were 90 full-time residents, Crespi (1927) counted over 200 at Yangna (*ya'ŋa*), and Forbes (1966:139) states that the village at Encino had a population of at least 60 permanent residents but over 200 people were present to greet the Spanish explorers. Later reports that give very low population figures, such as those of Hugo Reid and those from the Spanish mission baptismal records, probably reflect the results of inroads made by introduced disease prior to the actual arrival of Spaniards. Pablo Tac, a neophyte from San Luis Rey Mission, reported that the Indians in that area had suffered severe population loss

from disease several years prior to Spanish entry into the area (Tac 1930).

According to the archeological record, the Gabrielino were not the first inhabitants of the Los Angeles basin but arrived around 500 B.C. (as part of what Kroeber has called the Shoshonean [Takic-speaking] wedge), slowly displacing the indigenous Hokan speakers. By A.D. 500 dialectical diversification had begun among the Gabrielino. Permanent villages were established in the fertile lowlands along rivers and streams and in sheltered areas along the coast; and population expanded with many of the larger, permanent villages having satellite communities lying at varying distances from them and connected through economic, religious, and social ties. Kroeber (1925) believed that the Gabrielino cultural pattern encountered by the Spanish in the eighteenth century had crystallized as early as A.D. 1200 and shortly before the Spanish arrived in force about 1770 the population had grown in excess of 5,000.

As early as 1542 the Gabrielino were in contact with the Spanish, for in that year Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo became the first Spaniard to set foot on Gabrielino soil. This first contact, at which the Indian women and children fled and men armed themselves with bows, was peaceful; and when the Spaniards returned in 1602, under Sebastián Vizcaino, the Gabrielino received them with hospitality. However, it was not until 1769 that the Spaniards took steps to colonize within Gabrielino territory. Several land expeditions were dispatched to locate suitable mission sites, and by 1771 four had been built. But relations with the Indians disintegrated; their population dwindled (due to introduced diseases, dietary deficiencies, forceful reduction); and by 1900 they had ceased to exist as a culturally identifiable group (see table 1).

## Culture

### *Clothing and Adornment*

The Gabrielino, described as being "a race which . . . was genetically stable, physically hardy, and attuned to the conditions of its environments" (B.E. Johnston 1962:28), were for a short period considered by the Spanish as a special race of "White Indians" because of their light skin color. Older women used liberal amounts of red ocher paint on their faces to retard the browning and wrinkling process caused by sun and wind. Younger women also used the red paint as a rouge to make themselves more attractive. Tattooing, using thorns of flint slivers as the agent and vegetable charcoal as the dye, was common practice. Before puberty, girls were tattooed on their foreheads and chins, while adult women had tattoos covering an area from their eyes down to their breasts. Men tattooed their foreheads with vertical and/or horizontal lines.



Table 1. History

1973	Some residents of San Gabriel claim Gabrielino heritage.	1800	Most Gabrielinos missionized, dead, or fled to other areas with scattered numbers in area. More non-Gabrielinos brought into Gabrielino missions (e.g., Serrano, Luiseño, Cahuilla, Ipai-Tipai).
1925	Some remnants of Gabrielino songs and culture recorded by J.P. Harrington at Pala Indian Reservation.	1797	San Luis Rey active, growing, expanding.
1903	C. Hart Merriam, A.L. Kroeber, and others work with the few remaining Gabrielinos. A few years later J.P. Harrington begins Gabrielino research as does Constance Goddard DuBois.	1796	Because of poor economic conditions in missions and Spanish communities, neophytes arranged to use traditional Gabrielino subsistence methods to help feed the general populace. Gabrielinos also are major labor force in Pueblo of Los Angeles and outlying ranches and farms.
1860-1900	Smallpox epidemic further reduces Gabrielino population except for isolated families and Gabrielinos living in remote areas. Gabrielino culture is now only in the minds of a few people.	1786	Revolts in areas outside Gabrielino area. Spanish control firm only within a 20-mile radius of Los Angeles.
1852	Hugo Reid publishes <i>Indians of Los Angeles County</i> . His wife, Victoria (d. 1868), is a Gabrielino and a prominent person in the Los Angeles area. B.D. Wilson publishes report on Indians of southern California and recommends better treatment for Indians. This report is ignored.	1785	Indian protests, revolts are frequent, culminating in a major revolt led by Toyupurina, a chief's daughter. Increased segregation of Indians from <i>gente de razón</i> attempted by government. Most Gabrielinos become a peasant class working for missions or a landed gentry. Apartheidlike policy dominates Spanish-Indian relationships.
1840-1850	Most Indians in Los Angeles area are other Mission groups, but a few Gabrielino still in the area. Some Gabrielino language, some rituals and games, traditional crafts and economic modes still maintained, but in very attenuated forms. Gabrielino is until this period the lingua franca for Whites and Indians. Clamshell beads still used as money; baskets and steatite artifacts still being used by Europeans and Indians. Smallpox epidemics decimate all tribes in the area.	1779	Social organizations of missions crystallized as the positions of councilmen and alcaldes are established—elected by neophytes. Conflicts between military and church become acute as each vies for authority over Indian labor.
1833	Missions secularized, become refuges for aged, infirm. Most Gabrielinos are laborers for gentry class or landowners themselves (very rarely). Gabrielinos are scattered as far north as Monterey and south to below San Diego, while many are living with groups in the remote interior.	1778	Mass conversions of villages begins, as certain chiefs become converted, drawing many of their followers with them.
1800-1833	Missions grow, ranches expand, most Indians firmly in peasant class or fugitives. Diseases (among Indians) still killing many; armed raids conducted by Spanish against escaped neophytes and those Indians still not converted.	1771	Mission San Gabriel established, slowly integrates a few Gabrielinos into the mission. Many nonconverted Gabrielinos integrate into economic and social life of Spanish, but not religious life.
		1769	Gaspar de Portolá expedition crosses Gabrielino territory and interacts with Gabrielinos. European disease probably decimating populations already. Conflicts among Gabrielino begin almost immediately. Conversions slow.
		1602	Spanish explorers visit Santa Catalina.
		1520	Spanish explorers visit Santa Catalina.

Men wore their hair long, parted in the middle, and either falling straight or braided in the back and doubled upward, fastening onto the head with a cane or bone pin. The women's hair was also long and free, with bangs, and frequently adorned with flower garlands. When in mourning women either singed or cut their hair as a sacrifice and as a demonstration of their feeling of loss. To keep their hair glossy and free of parasites, clay was applied to the head, left to dry, and then broken off. In those instances where baldness was a problem, various plants were reduced to charcoal, ground into paste, and rubbed into the scalp once in the morning and again in the evening for as long as necessary to restore the lost hair. Daily bathing for everyone was rigorously adhered

to, and usually done before sunrise, with everyone drying out by the fire as breakfast was prepared (B.E. Johnston 1962).

Men and children usually went naked, while women wore aprons of either deerskin or the inner bark of willow or cottonwood trees. Occasionally capes of deerskin, rabbit fur, or bird skins (with feathers intact) were worn, especially in cold or wet weather. Except in areas of rough terrain when yucca fiber sandals were donned, everyone went barefooted. At night robes of deerskins or twisted strips of rabbit fur woven together with milkweed or yucca fiber were used as blankets. On the islands and along the coast, otter skins were used for the same



purposes. Ritual costumes (worn during dances by warriors, chiefs, shamans) were colorful (with plumage from different birds, fur, shells, and beads used as decoration) and elaborate and included feather head-dresses, feathered capes and skirts. Uncovered skin was brightly decorated with paint.

### Technology

The majority of Gabrielino material culture, although perishable and rarely lasting more than a few years, reflected an elaborately developed artisanship, with many everyday use items decorated with shell inlaid in asphaltum, rare minerals, carvings, and painting, and comparable in quality and excellence to that of their northwestern neighbors, the Chumash. Perhaps the best-known items of Gabrielino material culture are the objects made of steatite, obtained in finished or raw form by most mainland groups from the Indians of Santa Catalina Islands, where a veritable steatite industry flourished. The steatite was used in making animal carvings, pipes, "ritual" objects, ornaments, and cooking utensils (figs. 2-3). The last were considered of such value (because of their being made of steatite) that when a cooking pot broke, it was either mended with asphalt or a handle was attached to the largest piece, which was then used as a frying pan. Other food preparation items included bedrock and portable mortars, metates, mullers, mealing brushes, wooden stirrers, paddles, shell spoons, bark platters, wooden bowls (often inlaid with haliotis



Dept. of Anth., Smithsonian: top, 382666; bottom, 18349.

Fig. 3. Soapstone artifacts with carved grooves, possibly comals. Used to heat water in baskets, the hot stone was manipulated by a stick through the hole. top, Length 15 cm, collected at San Clemente Island; bottom, same scale, collected at Santa Barbara Island.

shell), and pottery vessels, made by coiling technique and paddle and anvil (Blackburn 1962-1963).

A variety of tools was made, including saws made from deer scapulae, bone or shell needles, fishhooks and awls, scrapers, flakers (of bone or shell), wedges, hafted or unhafted flint or cane knives, and flint drills.

Baskets were made by the women from the stems of rushes (*Juncus* sp.), grass (*Muhlenbergia rigens*), and squawbush (*Rhus trilobata*) with a three-color patterned decoration (Harrington 1942:20-23). Coiled wares included mortar hoppers; flat baskets used as plates, trays, winnowers, shallow carrying or serving baskets; storage baskets; and small globular baskets used to keep trinkets in. Closework and openwork twining was used to make deep or globular-shaped baskets, or for baskets used in leaching, straining, or gathering. Ceremonial baskets, urn-shaped and choke-mouthed, were used for grave offerings (Merriam 1955:84; Blackburn 1962-1963).

Weapons included three forms of wooden war clubs, self- and sinew-backed bows, tipped (stone or bone) and untipped cane arrows (simple or compound), wooden sabers, throwing clubs, and slings used for hunting birds and small game (Blackburn 1962-1963).

### Structures

Houses were domed, circular structures thatched with tule, fern, or carrizo (fig. 4). For groups located near the sea, the doorways opened seaward, to avoid the north wind (Harrington 1942:10). B.E. Johnston (1962) noted that the Indians' houses were, in some cases, "so spacious that each will hold fifty people." On Santa Catalina, Costansó (1911) described houses of more than 60 feet in diameter, with three or four families living in each one. Other structures commonly found in villages included sweathouses (small, semicircular, earth-covered buildings used for pleasure and as a clubhouse or meeting place for adult males), menstrual huts, and a ceremonial enclosure, the *yuva'r*. A *yuva'r* was built near the chief's house and was essentially an open-air enclosure, oval in plan, made with willows inserted wicker fashion among willow stakes, decorated with eagle and raven feathers, skins, and flowers, and containing inside the enclosure painted and decorated poles. Consecrated anew before every ceremony, these ceremonial enclosures were the centers for activities relating to the Chingichngish cult. An image representing the god Chingichngish occupied a special "sacred" area within the *yuva'r*, and on the ground near the image was a sand painting representing the cosmos, with figures of the Sun and Moon predominating. Only very old men or very powerful ones (chiefs, priest-shamans) were allowed in this inner sanctuary. Another building, similar in structure and design to the *yuva'r* but never consecrated, was sometimes built and used for instruction and practice for upcoming ceremonies (Blackburn 1962-1963; Heizer 1968).





Santa Barbara Mission, Calif.

Fig. 4. Mission San Gabriel Arcangel with thatched Indian house in foreground. Painted by Ferdinand Deppe, 1832, after his sketch made June 1828 during a Corpus Christi procession.

### *Social and Political Organization*

The intricacies of Gabrielino social organization are unknown, and only a rudimentary outline of basic

organizational features can be presented. It appears that a moiety system similar to that of other southern California Takic speakers existed, but it seems not to have functioned viably in controlling socioeconomic interrelationships.

Almost nothing is known of the nature and texture of adult life among the Gabrielino. There seem to have existed at least three hierarchically ordered social classes: an elite (having a specialized language) including chiefs and their immediate family and the very rich; a middle class, or those from fairly well-to-do and long-established lineages; and a third class comprising everyone else, with those individuals engaged in ordinary socioeconomic pursuits. Some individuals owned real estate, and property boundaries were marked by painting a copy of the owner's personalized tattoo on trees, posts, and rocks. These marks were almost equivalent to the owner's name and known not only to other Gabrielino but also in many cases to members of non-Gabrielino groups. Engelhardt's (1927a:100) comment that pictures of animals were drawn on tree trunks may refer to this boundary-marking process.

Villages (that is, tribelets) were politically autonomous, composed of nonlocalized lineages, often segmentary in



Title Insurance and Trust Company, Los Angeles.

Fig. 5. Village at Jurupa Rancho, base of Mt. Rubidoux, near San Bernardino inhabited by Cahuilla, Serrano, and probably some Gabrielino refugees. Photograph by C.C. Pierce, 1890.



nature. Each lineage had its own leader and at various times during the year fragmented into smaller subsistence-exploitation units that went out seasonally to collect resource items and then return to the villages.

The dominant lineage's leader was usually the village "chief" (*tumia'r*) whose authority was legitimized by the possession of the sacred bundle, the link between the sacred past and the present and the material, temporal representation of the Gabrielinos' *raison d'être* and the primary embodiment and focus of "power." Often several villages were allied under the leadership of a single chief. For example, at San Pedro the largest village, *šua'ŋa* 'place of the skies', was the political center for a cluster of other villages located nearby and its chief was the political leader for these associated villages. Succession to chiefly office was usually through the male line, a chief's eldest son assuming the office subject to community approval. If a direct line-of-descent male replacement was unavailable or unacceptable, a new chief was selected by the community elders from the same kin group as the previous chief. If there were no satisfactory male candidates, a woman, usually a sister or daughter of the previous chief, was appointed. According to Hugo Reid, regardless of who became the new chief, his or her name was changed to correspond to that of his or her village, with the addition of a special suffix (Heizer 1968).

New chiefs occasionally had more than one wife, were about 30-35 when they became chief, and often were the political heads of multiple village confederations. A chief's most important duties were to administer community solidarity and welfare and to act as the guardian of the sacred bundle. In the former sphere of action the chief arbitrated disputes, supervised tax collections ("gifts" from the people used principally for consumption by guests at ceremonies), led war parties, concluded peace treaties, and acted as the "model" Gabrielino. To help in these activities, the chief had several assistants: an announcer, treasurer, general assistant (who often delivered moral lectures to the people), and messengers (usually two, with excellent memories, especially trained and kept until they "wore out").

In addition to the chief, others who held authority positions within the community were shamans and the *ta:xk'a?*. The latter was responsible for the management of the elaborate mourning ceremonies among other things and oversaw the distribution of food following communal hunts. But it was with the shamans that perhaps the greatest power existed, sometimes even greater than the chief's. For, as Reid pointed out, even chiefs had no jurisdiction over shamans because they "conversed with the Great Spirit" and could be punished only by other shamans.

### *Shamanism*

A shaman obtained his power directly from the supernatural through dreams or visions, often caused by the

ingestion of *datura*. During these trancelike states an animal or object with energizing power would appear to the person and henceforth be his power aid. Following this stage, the prospective shaman entered a period of apprenticeship under proved shamans and was taught various aspects of the profession.

A shaman served mainly his own village and possessed the ability to cause as well as cure illness. Curing was accomplished by various techniques (herbal therapeutics, body manipulation, bloodletting, sucking, blowing smoke, hypnosis) and a wide variety of magical, power-invested paraphernalia. The basic instrument was a board with rattlesnake rattles attached to it (Blackburn 1962-1963) worn by the shaman, plus dried animal skins, curiously shaped rocks, plant roots, sparkling stones, rare minerals, as well as surgical implements such as obsidian blades. These objects not only were considered as having power in and of themselves but also were felt to be particularly efficacious in concentrating power in a particular area.

In addition to their function as curers, shamans also served as diviners, guardians (supernatural) of the sacred bundle, locators of lost items, collectors of poisons used on hunting and war arrows, and rain makers. Most possessed second sight, several had the ability to transform themselves into bears (in order to travel rapidly) and to handle fire with impunity, and some were able to witch people living at great distances. For example, among the Fernandeno, a shaman wishing to witch or kill a person prepared a four-sided ground painting, roped it off, and then stood in the center holding 12 radiating strings, the ends of which were held by 12 assistants. When the shaman shook the strings, the ground quaked and the person he had in mind fell ill and could eventually die (Kroeber 1925:626).

However, if a shaman became too malevolent and practiced evil against his own people, other shamans convened and stripped him of his power. Women could also acquire considerable power and at least in one instance exert this power politically as in the case of Toypurina, who led a significant revolt during the eighteenth century against the Spanish at Mission San Gabriel (Temple 1958).

### *Life Cycle*

• **MARRIAGE** Information about aboriginal Gabrielino marriage and residence patterns is practically nonexistent, and what data are available are sketchy and confusing. It appears that marriages were usually between individuals of nearly equal social rank, especially in the case of leading families, with the marriage partners coming from different lineages (lineage exogamy). Occasionally parents, while their children were quite young,



would promise them in marriage (child betrothal), but usually "when a person wished to marry, and had selected a suitable partner, he advertised the same to all his relations, even to the *nineteenth cousin*. On a day appointed . . . they [the males] proceeded in a body to the residence of the bride," where she and all her female relations were assembled, and presented shell beads to the bride's relatives (Heizer 1968:25). A few days later the bride's female relatives visited the groom-to-be's home, presented his male relatives with food stuffs, and set the date for the wedding ceremony. On the appointed day the bride, adorned with beads, paints, feathers, and skins, was carried by her relatives to her future husband's home. Friends and neighbors accompanied the bridal party singing, dancing, and strewing the ground with gifts. Halfway to the groom's house the procession was met by his relatives who took on the role of carrying the bride the rest of the way. Upon arrival, the bride was placed beside her new husband, and baskets of seeds were liberally poured over both bride and groom to signify a rich and bountiful future life. A festive dance was held at which warriors and hunters performed in full costume; then everyone departed leaving the couple "to enjoy their 'Honey Moon' according to usage." From this date forward the wife was forbidden to visit her relatives, but they could call on her at any time (Heizer 1968:26).

Except in the case of chiefs who practiced polygyny, a man usually took only one wife at a time. If, during the course of married life, a husband ill used his wife, she could complain to her family, who would return to the husband his family's "bridal gifts," and the woman was then free to return to her own home. If a wife was barren or unruly, her husband could send her home and his family's "gifts" would be returned. In the case of a wife's infidelity the husband could beat or kill his wife or, if possible, claim the wife of his wife's lover.

The Gabrielino traced their most important kinship ties through males (patrilineal descent) with an individual's social rank, value, and status in part dependent upon wealth possession (family and self) and heredity. Sharp distinctions were made between families in different classes both within and beyond the lineage. In the kinship terminology, what little data are available suggest a Dakota system with Iroquois cousin terminology.

• **BIRTH** Every time a woman gave birth both she and the child were ritually purified by sweatbathing for three consecutive days. During this period certain dietary restrictions were observed by the mother, and not until her child could run was she free to share her husband's bed (Heizer 1968).

The birth of a child to a chief was an occasion of special ritual and included dancing by old women who lauded the newborn's future renown and a ceremonial washing of the baby. Children were treated with such

love, devotion, and fondness by their parents that the Spanish missionaries were astounded and commented that the children were treated like "little idols" (B.E. Johnston 1962).

• **PUBERTY** As a child grew she or he was expected to show deference to those older—never to pass between adults or to interrupt their conversation. When a girl reached puberty—an occasion for joy and happiness—she underwent a purification ceremony similar to that of women at childbirth. During the ceremony she was the center of dancing and singing in her honor and was formally presented to society as an eligible, marriageable woman. She was not allowed to eat meat during the ceremony; was lectured on proper female conduct (in order to insure her popularity); and was instructed to be industrious, bathe daily, be hospitable, and be without deceit at all times. During the ceremony a sand painting was made depicting certain cosmological-supernatural beings, the significance of whom was explained to the young woman so she could better understand her place, role, and function (as well as that of her society in general) in the overall scheme of creation.

It is not known with certainty if all young males underwent a puberty ceremony. Blackburn (1962-1963:34) notes that some adolescent boys were involved in a complex ceremony, one resembling the toloache cult of their neighbors. While there is little specific documentation concerning the Gabrielino cult, all indications point to Santa Catalina Island as the traditional home of the Luiseño, Cahuilla, and Cupeño toloache ceremonies (Kroeber 1925:620); and it is assumed that their toloache rituals are survivals of a much more elaborate Gabrielino ceremony.

• **DEATH** When an important person died a piece of flesh from his or her shoulder was eaten, the person so doing gaining some of the deceased's power while the deceased was assured of a quick passage to the heavens to become a star (B.E. Johnston 1962; Harrington 1920-1930). This was in contrast to ordinary people who, when they died, went underground and danced and feasted forever. On the mainland the corpse was wrapped in a blanket (one used by the deceased during life); relatives assembled for ritual wailing and dancing; and after three days the corpse, along with most of the deceased's personal possessions, was burned. This disposal practice was in contrast to that practiced by at least one of the island groups, those of Santa Catalina. Here the dead were buried with artifacts used during life; the recurrence of certain tools in certain assemblages may indicate that there were vocational guilds on the island. Often dogs would be buried over the body.

Those possessions of the deceased not destroyed or buried were kept for use in the annual mourning ceremony, the biggest event celebrated in the year. Held in



the fall following the acorn harvest, eight days were spent instructing the inexperienced in correct ceremonial procedure, songs, and dances (Harrington 1920-1930). The beginning of the ceremony was signaled by the construction or consecration of the *yuva'r*, the special ceremonial enclosure, followed by ceremonial feasting. Over the next seven days there was a great deal of visiting, dancing, singing, and feasting. Dancers, adorned with hawk and eagle feathers and with their faces, necks, and thorax painted, reenacted various sacred time events, their movements governed by shaman-priests, who watched from the sidelines. On the fourth day a ritualist brought forth all the children born during the year and the chief gave them names selected from their fathers' lineages. On the fifth day life-size images of the deceased were made, the men's images usually decorated with bows and arrows, the women's with baskets. Either on the evening of the fifth day or during the sixth day, an eagle-killing ceremony was held accompanied by special dances and songs.

In the predawn light of the eighth day the images were brought into the *yuva'r*, carried by the dancers while they performed, then thrown onto a fire along with personal items saved at the time of death. The annual mourning ceremony is one of the typical elements of California culture and possibly developed from the Gabrielino and spread to most, if not all, other southern California groups.

#### *Subsistence*

Men carried out most of the heavy but short-term labor; they hunted, fished, assisted in some gathering activities (fig. 6), conducted most trading ventures, and had as their central concerns the ceremonial and political well-being of their families and homes. Large land mammals were hunted with bow and arrow, while smaller game were taken with deadfalls, snares, and traps. Burrowing animals were smoked from their holes and clubbed to death, while rabbits were taken in communal hunts with nets, bow and arrows, and throwing clubs (Blackburn 1962-1963:24). For hunting sea mammals harpoons, spearthrowers, and clubs were used. Deep-sea fishing or trading expeditions between island and mainland were undertaken from boats made of wooden planks lashed and asphalted together. However, most fishing was carried out from shore or along rivers, streams, and creeks and involved the use of line and hook, nets, basketry traps, spears, bow and arrow, and vegetal poisons.

Women were involved mainly in collecting and preparing most floral and some animal food resources and production of baskets, pots, and clothing. When old, they shared with old men the task of teaching, supervising, and caring for the young (Blackburn 1962-1963; B.E. Johnston 1962).



Title Insurance and Trust Company, Los Angeles.

Fig. 6. Rojerio, chorister at Mission San Fernando, gathering cactus fruit. Photograph by C.C. Pierce, July 1898.

#### **External Relations**

##### *War*

Although nineteenth-century writers often characterized the Gabrielino as timid and peaceful, the earlier chroniclers paint a different picture. A state of constant enmity existed between some coastal and prairie-mountain groups. Engelhardt (1927a:20) noted that intervillage conflicts among the Gabrielino were so frequent and of such intensity that inland Gabrielino were effectively prevented by coastal Gabrielino from reaching the sea for fishing and trading purposes. This concern with war as more than a defensive or rare occurrence is further supported by the occurrence of reed armor, war clubs, swords, and large and heavy bows used for warfare, as well as the hunting of big game. While these "wars" were not lengthy, they were deadly and often involved several villages. Those villages allied through marriage ties (and hence economic and religious bonds) usually actively supported one another in armed conflicts. Furthermore, it was not uncommon for a village planning a "war" to send ceremonial gifts to villages with whom it did not have close ties in hopes either of entering into an alliance of mutual help or at least of ensuring the villages' neutrality.

Armed conflict could arise for a number of reasons: failure of a chief to return a gift during a ceremony (that is, breaking the economic reciprocity system), abduction



of women, trespassing, or sorcery (it was generally assumed that neighboring groups were using supernatural powers for harm). In the event of potential conflict, a war council was called by an official crier (smoke signals were also used to call people from distant villages) with all potentially involved villages attending, and the pros and cons of going to war discussed. A decision to go to war was not lightly made, since warfare involved not only the warriors, but also old men, women, and even children. The chief led the war party and, while on maneuvers, was followed in order by able-bodied warriors, old men, women, and then the children, the last two groups carrying the food and supplies (Heizer 1968).

Every attempt was made to surprise the enemy, descending upon his villages and killing, or occasionally capturing, as many people as possible. Bows and arrows and war clubs were the primary instruments of warfare. The clubs were of hard, heavy wood, often with bulbous heads and sharp conical projections, with a length up to three feet. During battle the women gathered up arrows shot in their direction and gave them to the men to shoot back. Wounded, if left on the battlefield, were killed by the opposition. If prisoners were taken, their fate varied: males were tortured in front of the entire village population, beheaded, and scalped, the scalps later dried, cured, and placed on display in the *yupa'r*. Women and children, if not also killed, were enslaved, their only chance of freedom being escape or recapture by their own people. Occasionally it was possible to buy back captives, but this seems to have been rare (Heizer 1968).

### *Feuds*

More common than warfare, and involving considerably less people, were the feuds that passed from father to son, often for many generations. Hostilities were vented through ritualized "song fights," some lasting as long as eight days. Songs, obscene and insulting in nature and sung in the vilest language possible, were accompanied by stomping and trampling the ground, symbolizing the subjugation of the opponent (Heizer 1968).

Interpersonal disputes were adjudicated by the village chief. If the dispute involved members of the same village, the chief heard testimony, examined evidence, then passed a binding judgment. If the quarrel involved parties from two different villages, each party's chief conducted a separate hearing among his own people, then met with each other to pass sentence. If they were unable to issue an acceptable joint statement, a third chief was summoned to hear the two chiefs' arguments, then make a final, unappealable judgment—unappealable, that is, short of open armed conflict or sorcery (Heizer 1968).

### *Intermarriage*

Yet by and large, interpersonal, intra- and intervillage relationships were amicable. Gabrielino villages were

often located immediately adjacent to non-Gabrielino ones, and intermarriage was common. For example, at Corona, the Gabrielino village of Paxauxa lay directly across Temescal Creek from a large Luiseño village, and intermarriage between the two was common. Forbes (1966) reports that the people of the Gabrielino village of Tongva intermarried with the people of at least 13 other villages, including Yokuts, Chumash, and Serrano. This arrangement is not unusual, since the Gabrielinos were part of a widespread ritual congregation union "which existed between all Cahuilla, Serrano, Luiseño, and Gabrielino clans" (Bean 1972; Strong 1929). Since this was the case, relationships were usually friendly among members of these different groups.

### *Trade*

Intra- and intergroup exchange was brisk and common, with people, goods, and ideas flowing in many directions and in some cases, for long distances. From the inland Serranos the coastal Gabrielinos obtained acorns, seeds, obsidian, and deerskins in exchange for shell beads, dried fish, sea otter pelts, shells, possibly salt, and steatite (obtained by coastal Gabrielinos from those living on the islands). Through middlemen located in interior southern California—such as Cahuilla, Chemehuevi, Mohave—shells from coastal sections controlled by Gabrielinos were traded as far east as central Arizona. Ruby has noted that Cibola White ware (A.D. 1000) from the Southwest has been found in Gabrielino territory, while shells and steatite have been found in Pueblo sites. It is likely that southern California and the Southwest "were engaged in a series of reciprocal exchanges, regularized by the establishment of trading partnerships . . ." (Ruby 1970:96, 266–267), perhaps as early as A.D. 600–800. Most trading was usually of the barter type, but when this was not feasible or desirable, strung olivella beads, considered legal tender throughout most of southern California, were used to transact business (Ruby 1970).

The principal trade item, both among the Gabrielino and for export to other groups, was steatite. Available in great quantities on Santa Catalina Island, steatite was traded, in rough or finished form, to many groups (Chumash, Yokuts, Ipai-Tipai, Luiseño, Serrano, and via the Chumash to the distant Tubatulabal). Most of the steatite was used to make palettes, arrow straighteners, ornaments, and carvings of animal or animallike beings. From archeological and ethnographic accounts it would appear that the Gabrielino received traders, possibly at trading centers, from other groups rather than journeying out to distant peoples (Harrington 1920–1930). In some business transactions knotted cords were used as mnemonic devices for recalling figures and quantities and intricacies of past or pending transactions.

Perhaps the most important "item" originating in the Gabrielino territory that found its way to non-Gabrielino groups and significantly influenced them was the set of



associated religious beliefs and rituals called the Chingichngish cult (see "Cults and their Transformations," this vol.).

## Religion

Less is known concerning the Gabrielino religious system and beliefs than those of their neighbors. Several different creation stories exist. One relates to the god Qua-o-ar—compare the Luiseño-Juaneño *kʷáʔuwar*, one of their names for Chingichngish (Harrington 1933b:139, phonemized). He created the world out of chaos, fixing it upon the shoulders of seven giants created for this purpose (Heizer 1968:19). Following this, Qua-o-ar created animals and then humans from earth, and then ascended to the afterworld. B.E. Johnston (1962:41) recorded a different creation story whose prime characters were Heaven and Earth. The two were respectively brother and sister who, through six different creations, made all of the world; then Earth gave birth to Wiyot (*wuyot*), "an animate being, but different from the rational kind, and irrational" (B.E. Johnston 1962:41). Wiyot ruled the people for a long time but eventually was killed by his sons because of his cruelty. Following his death, the people met to discuss what things in the world could be used as food. As they enumerated the wild food "a new leader appeared to them, at first seeming like a phantom or an evanescent vision . . . announced himself as a greater chief [than Wiyot]. . . . He called himself Chungichnish [Chingichngish†] and gave a great speech in which he set the future course of tribal law and religion. [He] delegated powers and responsibilities to certain persons [shaman-priests]. . . . The god also created out of mud . . . a new race" of people and instructed them in new life-ways. Following this, Chingichngish began to dance and slowly ascended into heaven (B.E. Johnston 1962:42-44).

By the time the Spanish arrived in Gabrielino territory the belief in Chingichngish had apparently spread to neighboring non-Gabrielino groups (Luiseño, Ipai-Tipai, Cupeño, Juaneño), becoming intimately involved with the toloache cult. The belief in Chingichngish had become highly formalized and ritualized involving the erection of "temples" (sacred enclosures where elaborately decorated poles and banners were erected and an image of Chingichngish was placed) into which only old men possessing great "power" could enter, lengthy and elaborate ceremonies, and offerings of food and goods not only to Chingichngish but also to Sun and Moon (B.E. Johnston 1962).

The exact nature of Sun and Moon are not known, but they have enjoyed almost as much attention and devotion

as Chingichngish. Whenever sand paintings ("maps" of the Gabrielino cosmology) were made, representations of Sun and Moon figured predominantly in them (Harrington 1920-1930). In addition to these cosmological beings, the Gabrielino also recognized the sacred beings characterized as Crow, Raven, Owl, and Eagle. The Eagle emerges as a central figure in the remote past, a great and wise chief who, when dying, told the people he would become an eagle whose feathers were to be used in all rituals (Harrington 1920-1930; Kroeber 1925).

Little else is known about Gabrielino mythology. In the few stories, often of fragmentary nature or imbued with non-Gabrielino (European) elements that survive, predominant themes include revenge, transformations to escape bad events, severe punishments for selfishness or disrespect, and "deliberate or artistic incoherence, both as regards personages and plot" (Kroeber 1925:625).

Prime life values included respect for age, maleness, and above all, secrecy: "Whenever they tell the truth they think some slight damage may result to them or they might lose something good. They conceal it [truth] every way. In this matter, they have no other motive than their own convenience" (Engelhardt 1927a:104).

The four cardinal directions (North, East, South, West) were named, while the year was divided into two parts (according to the solstices) with 10 moons. Several stars were named (usually animal names), the Pleiades were considered to be sacred time maidens, rainbows conferred good luck while ball lightning conferred bad luck, whirlwinds were evil spirits, and springs and lakes the dwelling places of potentially malevolent spirits (B.E. Johnston 1962; Heizer 1968).

## Synonymy

The Gabrielino of the Los Angeles area called themselves *kumi'vit* (cf. *kumi'* 'east') and were so referred to by the Fernandeños, who were known to the Gabrielino as *paše'kʷarum* (cf. *paše'kʷa* 'San Fernando').

The Spanish group name Gabrielino first appears, spelled Gabrileños, in a report by Loew (1876) and has been intermittently applied to the aboriginal inhabitants of the Los Angeles area since that time. Another spelling is Gabrieleño (Hodge 1907-1910, 1:480). Other names, for which Hodge gives some early attestations, are Kij (B.E. Johnston 1962); Kizh (Heizer 1968); Tobikhars (B.E. Johnston 1962); and *tumámqamalum*, a Luiseño word related to *tumá'mik* 'north' (though 'northerners' in general is *tumámkawčum*) (William Bright, personal communication 1974; Kroeber in Hodge).

## Sources

The major published sources on Gabrielino are B.E. Johnston (1962), the published forms of the Hugo Reid letters that contain valuable footnotes (Heizer 1968; W.J.

† Chingichngish and Chungichnish are spellings of the Luiseño name *čingičngiš* (dialect variant *čagičngiš*); no corresponding Gabrielino name has been recorded.



Hoffman 1885), Engelhardt (1908-1915, 1927, 1927a), Harrington's culture element distribution list (1942) and work on Chingichngish (1933b), Kroeber (1925), and Blackburn (1962-1963). Various articles in *Masterkey* and the UCLA Archaeological Survey Reports should be consulted.

The principal archival collections containing ethnographic, linguistic, and historical data are at the University of California, Berkeley (A.L. Kroeber Papers, C.H. Merriam Collection); Huntington Library, San Marino, California (H.N. Rust Collection); Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History (especially the Thomas W. Temple Collection); the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (J.P. Harrington Collection contains the largest amount of ethnographic and linguistic data on the Gabrielino); and the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles (especially Bernice

E. Johnston Collection). Artifacts are described in detail by Blackburn (1962-1963) and are housed at various institutions throughout the United States—Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History; Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, California; Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley; San Diego Museum of Man, California; Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago; Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York; and Smithsonian Institution. In Europe there are artifacts in the Musée de l'Homme, Paris. Photographs of Gabrielino peoples are rare and most are in local or private collections. The Southwest Museum and the C. Hart Merriam Collection have a few photographs of Gabrielinos taken around 1900 plus a few sketches from the late Mexican period.



# Luiŕeño

LOWELL JOHN BEAN AND FLORENCE C. SHIPEK

## Language

The term Luiŕeño (lōōwĩ'sā,nyō) derives from the mission named San Luis Rey and has been used in southern California to refer to those Takic-speaking people associated with Mission San Luis Rey. The term Juaneño (hwā'nā,nyō) derives from Mission San Juan Capistrano and has been used to refer to the Takic speakers associated with that mission. These designations have been used since the Spanish occupation of California. Although Kroeber and Harrington separated Juaneño and Luiŕeño on the basis of linguistic differences, later studies (R.C. White 1963:91) indicate that they are ethnologically and linguistically one ethnic nationality, which here will be termed Luiŕeño.

The Luiŕeño language (along with Cupeño, Cahuilla and Gabrielino) belongs to the Cupan group of the Takic subfamily (Bright and Hill 1967; W.R. Miller 1961; Bright 1975). This subfamily, which also includes Serrano and Kitanemuk, all of southern California, was earlier called Southern California Shoshonean; it is part of the widespread Uto-Aztecan family.

Like most California groups, the Luiŕeño probably had no name for their own nationality, although they may sometimes coin names to satisfy outside investigators. Quechnajuichom and Puyumkowitchum, suggested as possible names for themselves (True 1966:43), seem not to be. The former is a Spanish spelling of *qéč̣̣axwič̣̣um* 'people of San Luis Rey Village', and the latter is presumably *payó'mkawč̣̣um* 'westerners' (probably as used by inland Luiŕeños to refer to coastal dwellers).\*

## External Relations

The development of a separate Luiŕeño culture is clearly evident in archeological patternings that are locally distinct. This complex, which has been divided into San Luis Rey I (A.D. 1400-1750) and II (A.D. 1750-1850), shows the long-term development of a society that in the second era added components (for example, pottery and

cremation urns) from neighboring groups (Meighan 1954).

External relations with neighboring ethnic nationalities were conservative. The Luiŕeño tended toward an isolationist policy except when expanding, which they did through warfare and marriage. They were considered by their neighbors to be dangerous and warlike expansionists, an opinion supported by their more highly developed warfare structure incorporating war leadership duties in the hands of the *nó't*, or chief, and an initiated warrior class.

The Luiŕeño shared boundaries with the Cahuilla, Cupeño, Gabrielino, and Ipai peoples on the east, north, and south respectively. The Cahuilla, Gabrielino, and Cupeño share cultural and language traditions with the Luiŕeño. The Yuman Ipai have a different linguistic and cultural background but shared certain similarities in social structure (patrilineality as a basic form of social organization) and exchanged some religious practices with the Luiŕeño.

Luiŕeño social structure and philosophy were similar to the other Takic-speaking tribes, but they diverged in having a more rigid social structure and greater population density. The differences are clearly seen in: (1) extensive proliferation of social statuses, (2) clearly defined ruling families that interlocked various rancherias within the ethnic nationality, (3) a sophisticated philosophical structure associated with the taking of hallucinogenics (*datura*), and (4) elaborate ritual paraphernalia including sand paintings symbolic of an avenging sacred being named Chingichngish (*č̣̣iŋič̣̣ŋiŕš* or *č̣̣aŋič̣̣ŋiŕš*). The common spelling Chinigchinich for this name copies an eighteenth-century attempt to write the Juaneño form *č̣̣iŋič̣̣ŋič̣̣* (Boscana 1933).

## Territory and Environment

The territory of the Luiŕeño comprised 1,500 square miles of coastal southern California (R.C. White 1963:117). Along the coast it extended from about Agua Hedionda Creek on the south to near Aliso Creek on the northwest. The boundary extended inland to Santiago Peak, then across to the eastern side of the Elsinore Fault Valley, then southward to the east of Palomar Mountain, then around the southern slope above the valley of San Jose.

\* The orthography used for Luiŕeño words here is that of William Bright (1968). The preceding two paragraphs are based on data provided by him. The spellings of Luiŕeño words in the text have been corrected by Bright, Sandra L. Chung, or Pamela Munro, with the assistance of Villiana Hyde. None of them was able to identify the ritual here called *aputs*.



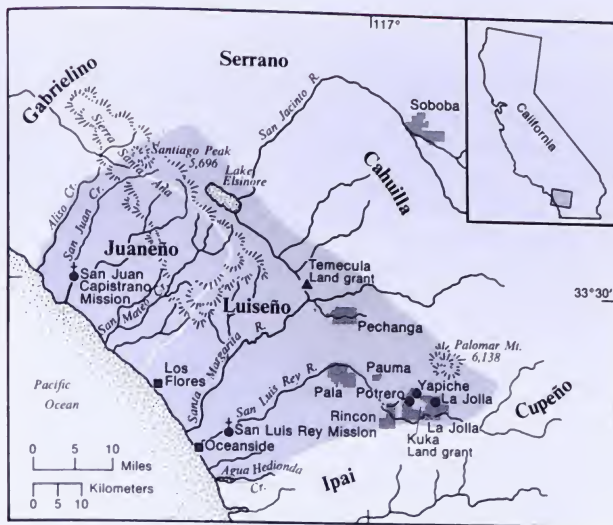


Fig. 1. Tribal territories with reservations and land grants.

From there the boundary turned west and returned to the sea along the Agua Hedionda Creek (fig. 1).

The territory of the Luiseno (excluding the Juaneno) included most of the drainage of the San Luis Rey River and that of the Santa Margarita River immediately to the north. Their habitat thus covered every ecological zone from the ocean, sandy beaches, shallow inlets, marshes, coastal chaparral, lush interior grassy valleys, extensive oak groves, up to the pines and cedars on the top of Mount Palomar. The Juaneno portion extended from the sea to the crest of the southern continuation of the Sierra Santa Ana. For the Luiseno as a whole, territorial elevations ranged from sea level to 6,000 feet on top of Mount Palomar.

Summer temperatures averaged from below 68° F. at the coast to above 85° inland, while winter temperatures averaged about 52° along the coast to 40° in the mountains. The average annual precipitation varied significantly, ranging from below 15 inches at the coast to 40 inches at Palomar Mountain. The Hot Steppe is the prevailing climate type found along the coast and extends inland along the river valleys into Riverside Basin. The uplands of the Santa Ana Mountains and Palomar Mountain had a warm Mediterranean-type climate with summer thunderstorms and winter snowfalls over Palomar Mountain. This diverse environment provided a more abundant and variable subsistence than most areas in southern California.

#### Settlement Pattern

Sedentary and autonomous village groups, each with specific hunting, collecting, and fishing areas, were located in diverse ecological zones. Typically these were in valley bottoms, along streams, or along coastal strands near mountain ranges. Villages were usually in sheltered coves or canyons, on the side of slopes in a warm thermal

zone, near good water supplies, and in defensive locations.

Each village area contained many named places associated with food products, raw materials, or sacred beings. Each place was owned by an individual, a family, the chief, or by the group collectively. Trails, temporary campsites, hunting sites, areas for rabbit or deer drives, quarry sites, and areas for ceremonial use and gaming are examples of places owned by the community as a whole.

Group economic activities were restricted to the particular areas owned by the village, and family gatherings were confined to family-owned areas. Only with the express permission of the other group or family could gathering be done on territory other than one's own. Most inland groups also had fishing and gathering sites on the coast that they visited annually when tides were low or when inland foods were scarce from January to March. Each year for the acorn harvest (October–November) most of the village population would settle for several weeks in the mountain groves to collect acorns, hunt game animals, and collect whatever else was locally available. However, most of the Luiseno foods were available in locations within a day's travel of the village.

#### Culture

##### *Ownership and Property*

Ownership and property, both tangible and intangible, ranged from communal, that is, village, to personal property. At the most general level all members of the village collectively owned the whole area and all its contents. Trespass against this property was explicitly forbidden, boundaries were marked, and the area was protected by physical combat as well as supernatural means. Trespass was a major cause for war.

Within these collectively owned areas, the village chief supervised specific areas for group hunting and gathering. The produce from these areas was under the chief's control and was used for public occasions. R.C. White (1963:124) also describes "gardens" that were owned by individual household groups for subsistence, for example, clusters of cactus, oak trees, other food plants, medicines, or tobacco. These privately owned areas, also with marked boundaries, were inherited patrilineally or could be given to another by the owner. The concept of private property was important and violation of trespass on these areas was seriously punished.

Other private property included the house (owned by a family head), capital equipment, treasure goods (ritual equipment, ceremonial and trade beads, other ceremonial paraphernalia), eagle nests, songs, and other nonmaterial possessions. Individual material possessions were usually destroyed upon the death of an individual, so that his spirit could take all to the spirit world. Songs and knowledge had generally been taught to a successor—a son, son-in-law, or nephew—who had shown the pre-



requisite innate abilities to handle that form of knowledge.

### Subsistence

The principal game animals were deer, rabbit, jackrabbit, woodrat, mice and ground squirrels, antelope, valley and mountain quail, doves, ducks, and other birds, including some songbirds. Most predators were avoided as food as were tree squirrels and most reptiles. Coastal marine foods included sea mammals, fish, crustaceans, and mollusks (especially abalone). Trout and other fish were caught in mountain streams (Sparkman 1908:200).

Acorns were the most important single food source; six species were used. Villages seem to have been located near water resources necessary for the leaching of acorns. Grass seeds were the next most abundant plant food used. Other important seeds were manzanita, sunflower, sage, chia, lemonade berry, wild rose, holly-leaf cherry, prickly pear, lamb's-quarters and pine nuts. Seeds were parched, ground, and cooked as a mush in various combinations according to taste and availability. Greens such as thistle, lamb's-quarters, miner's lettuce, white sage, and tree clover were eaten raw or cooked or sometimes dried for storage. Cactus pods and fruits were used. Thimbleberries, elderberries, wild grapes, and wild strawberries were eaten raw or dried for later cooking. Cooked yucca buds, blossoms, and pods provided a sizable increment to the food resources. Bulbs, roots, and tubers were dug in the spring and summer and usually eaten fresh. Mushrooms and tree fungi provided a significant food supplement. Various teas were made from flowers, fruits, stems, and roots for medicinal cures as well as beverages. Tobacco and datura (or toloache; Luiseño *náqtumus*) were collected for sacred rituals because of their hallucinogenic qualities and were also used as medicines.

Fire was used as a crop-management technique as well as for community rabbit drives. The annual return from certain wild foods and useful plants—grass seed, some greens, yucca, and basket grasses—was maintained by burning at least every third year.

Food Sources

	Inland Bands		Coastal Bands	
	R.C. White		R.C. White	
	1963	Revised	1963	Revised
Acorns	25-50%	25-45%	10-25%	15-25%
Seeds	15-25	20-40	5-10	20-40
Greens	10-15	10-12	5-10	5-10
Bulbs, roots, fruits	10-15	10-13	10-15	10-15
Game	15-25	15-20	5-10	5-10
Fish and marine animals	0-5	0-5	50-60	20-35

### Technology

Tools for food acquisition, storage, and preparation included an extensive inventory made from widely available materials. A few items were traded from specific localities, such as steatite bowls from Santa Catalina Island and obsidian blanks or points from either northern or eastern neighbors.

Hunting was done both individually and by groups. A shoulder-height bow was used with fire-hardened wood or stone-tipped arrows, which were carried in a skin quiver. Felsite and quartz points were made using deer-antler flakers. Deer were stalked with deer-head decoys or were tracked and run down. Community deer drives were held when quantities of meat were wanted. Small game was caught with the curved throwing stick (fig. 2), rabbit nets, slings, traps, or the spring-pole or pit type of deadfall.



Mus. of the Amer. Ind., Heye Foundation, New York: 5/468.

Fig. 2. Luiseño wooden throwing stick for hunting rabbits. Length about 65 cm, collected before 1916.

The bows for war were similar to those for hunting. In addition to the bow and arrow, weapons included a small hand-thrusting war club, large war clubs, broad-bladed thrusting sticks, lances, and slings.

Near shore ocean fishing was done from light balsa or dugout canoes. Seines, basketry fish traps, dip nets, hooks of bone or haliotis shell, and possibly harpoons were used. Mountain-stream fish were caught with traps, nets, or poisons.

Coiled and twined baskets were used in food gathering, preparation, storage, and serving (fig. 3). The basket type, shape, and size varied according to the purpose for which it would be used: small hand-held berry and bird-egg-gathering baskets, water-carrying bowls, storage baskets, and large round-bottomed carrying baskets. Coiled baskets were usually decorated with a darker tan, red, or black geometric design. These were very finely and artistically made and are to be found in many collections under the general area term "Mission Indian baskets" (Kroeber 1924).

A large shallow tray was used for winnowing chaff from grain or for sorting coarse from finely ground meal. Openwork twined baskets were used for leaching tannic acid from acorn meal. Basins formed in fine sand could also be used for leaching acorn meal.

Depending upon the size and quantity of the items to be stored, clay and basketry storage containers varied in





Dept. of Anthr., Smithsonian: top, 313023; bottom, 313172.

Fig. 3. Coiled baskets. top, Juaneño meal tray; bottom, Luiseno feast basket with black elder-dyed design. Diameter of top 38 cm, collected in 1900.

size from small bowls to baskets or jars large enough to hold several bushels. Acorn granaries were made of intertwined willow boughs set on a flat rock base.

Net pouches of two-ply cordage were made for handling the fruit and young pads of cactus. Net or skin pouches and bags were also used to carry small game and other foods. Large back-carrying nets were used with a tumpline around the forehead bearing on a coiled basket cap. Infants were carried on a cradleboard frame made of willow boughs.

Seeds were ground with handstones on shallow unshaped basin metates of fine-grained granite (fig. 4). The same granites were made into shaped or unshaped mortars and pestles for pounding acorns or small whole game. Bedrock mortars and metates were generally located near village sites, especially inland. A basket hopper was attached to new or shallow mortars. Medicines, tobacco, and datura roots were ground in stone bowls usually painted red and white for ritual purposes.

Food was cooked in wide-mouthed clay jars over fireplaces or in earth ovens wrapped with clay or leaves. Game was roasted in coals. Seeds were parched by shaking with coals in shallow pottery or basket trays; heated stones were dropped into food held in baskets, pottery jars, or soapstone bowls for boiling.

The pottery was made by paddle-and-anvil technique and fired in shallow open pits. Simple line decoration was either painted or incised with a fingernail or stick.

Decoration was rare. Relatively few shapes were made: shallow dishes, bowls, hemispherical bowls, wide- and narrow-mouthed jars, ladles and dippers, and miniatures. A double-mouthed pot was used as a water jar.

Other utensils for food preparation included wooden food paddles, brushes, tongs, tweezers, steatite bowls and cups, and wooden digging sticks. Also a variety of ground-stone, pressure-flaked, or percussion chipped-stone tools were made for cutting, prying, scraping, drilling, and pounding (True 1966).

Ritual equipment included small spherical sacred stone bowls for grinding and drinking datura or tobacco; ceremonial blades of obsidian, clay figurines with "coffee bean" eyes; sacred wands with abalone or crystal insets (fig. 5); ritual head scratchers for puberty ceremonies; eagle-feather headdress, dance skirts, and shoulder bands; head and hand plumes of owl or raven feathers, and ceremonial blades.

Shamans' equipment included tubular soapstone or clay pipes for smoking, purification, and sucking disease rituals. Some had enlarged bowls and cane stems. Shamans also had magical power stones of quartz, tourmaline, and other crystals; magical swallowing sticks; a syringe of deer bladder with a cane nozzle; and special shamans' bundles.

Other ritual equipment included the ground paintings representing the cosmology, image of sacred beings, and of deceased persons; funeral pyre and cremation pits; funeral poles; and offering baskets.

### Structures

Houses were primarily conical, partially subterranean thatched structures of reeds, brush, or bark, whichever was available locally. Domestic chores were done in the shade of nearby brush-covered rectangular structures known by the Spanish term *ramadas*. Round, semisubterranean, earth-covered sweathouses (fig. 6) were important for purification and curing rituals. A ceremonial structure, the *wámkiš*, was a centrally located area within the village that was enclosed by circular fencing. Sometimes within this area there was a raised altar upon which was a skin-and-feather image. Ceremonies were held inside the *wámkiš* and ritual and paintings were made in front of it.

### Adornment

Personal ornaments were made of bone, clay, stone, shell, bear claws and, later, glass. Beads or pendants were made of these as well as of mica sheets, bear claws, deer hooves, and abalone shell. Bracelets and anklets were made of human hair. Men wore ear and nose ornaments made of cane or bone, sometimes with beads attached. Cloaks and robes were made of deerskin, otterskin, or rabbitskin strips, wound on lengths of fiber, and put together by a twined weft. Yucca-fiber sandals and deerskin moccasins were worn. Body painting and tattooing for men and





NAA, Smithsonian.

Fig. 4. Juaneño woman in front of adobe house grinding with mano and metate. An earth oven is behind her under the sunshade. Copyright and possibly photographed by Herve Friend, 1892.

women were ritually significant. Semiprecious stones were commonly used, such as quartz, topaz, garnet, opal, opalite, agate, and jasper. Women wore twined cedar-bark double aprons.

#### *Music and Games*

Musical instruments included bird-bone and cane whistles; cane flutes; split-stick clappers; rattles of turtle shell,

gourd, or deer hooves; and bull-roarers. Gaming equipment included bone and wood cylinders with stretched rawhide loop and counters used in the peon game, dice, painted or incised split sticks for women's gambling games, wooden ball and sticks for the ball-and-stick game, ring and pin, acorn tops, cat's cradle strings, hoops and pole, and wooden balls.



Riverside Municipal Mus., Calif.: A9-20.

Fig. 5. Luiseño ceremonial wand, wood handle with remnants of abalone inlay, obsidian point. Length 61.8 cm, collected before 1923.





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Fig. 6. Luiseño sweathouse on Soboba Reservation. Photograph possibly by C.C. Pierce, about 1885.

### *Social and Political Organization*

Women collected most of the plant resources, and men hunted the large game and most of the small game and fished; but there was no rigid sexual division of labor. Work activities often overlapped. Men aided in acquiring acorns and other plant foods by helping with heavy work associated with them, such as knocking acorns from the trees. They sometimes collected plant foods on hunting expeditions. Women, in turn, sometimes hunted and trapped small game and collected shellfish.

Aged women stayed at home to care for children, teaching them arts, crafts, and knowledge necessary for adulthood while active women were busy collecting and processing foods. Older men were most active in ritual, ceremonial affairs, making political decisions, and teaching selected young men. They were skilled net makers and arrow makers; they manufactured much of the capital equipment used in hunting as well as creating much ceremonial paraphernalia.

Children were involved in productive activities at the earliest possible age, boys and girls working with adults as they learned. Older, unmarried girls assumed some care for younger siblings. Men tended to have exclusive responsibility for ritual and sacred affairs, while women made food preparations for ritual affairs and performed supplemental dancing and singing.

Each Luiseño village was a clan tribelet—a group of people patrilineally related who owned an area in common and who were politically and economically autonomous from neighboring groups. The entire social structure is obscure. It does not appear that they were organized into exogamous moieties such as were the Cahuilla, Cupeño, and Serrano (Strong 1929:291). They may have been loosely divided into easterners (mountain-

oriented peoples) and westerners (ocean-oriented peoples) (Strong 1929:288–289). R.C. White (1963:163–174) sees a possible moiety structure but the evidence is highly inferential. R.C. White (1963:173–178) and Strong (1929:287) agree that the “party organization” or grouping of lineages for reciprocal performance of ritual is a result of the recent drastic decline of population and the loss of ceremonial leaders without trained replacements.

The hereditary village chief (*nó't*) held an administrative position that combined and controlled religious, economic, and warfare powers (Boscana 1933:43). He had an assistant (*paxá'*) who acted to relay orders and information and who had important religious ceremonial duties also. There was an advisory council of ritual specialists and shamans, each with his own special area of knowledge about the environment or ritual magic. These positions were hereditary with each man training a successor from his own lineage who showed the proper innate abilities (R.C. White 1957:5–6). These specialists were also members of the cultic organization of Chingichngish and shared special access to ritual and supernatural power forms. There was a multiplicity of specialist roles under the *nó't* and *paxá'* such as the leaders of the rabbit hunt, deer and antelope drives, expeditions to the sea, as well as a specialist in each major food crop.

The more populous villages along the coast and in the larger valleys undoubtedly had a more complex structure than did the smaller settlements in the little valleys, which seem to have contained fewer lineages (Strong 1929).

Kinship terminology and marriage rules, in addition to the social structure, have been changed so extensively by the overlay of the Roman Catholic incest rules and external linguistic, political, and economic factors that the aboriginal or contact-period usage, rules, and structure are extremely obscure.

Luiseño kinship terminology had a Dakota structure (R.C. White 1963:168) and kin terms occurred only with possessive prefixes (Kroeber 1917:348). There was a tendency toward paired reciprocal terms that indicated equal relationship distance, with the diminutive ending on the younger of the pair (Kroeber 1917:351). For example, *-ka'* ‘grandfather’ and *-ka'may* ‘grandson’ (*-may* being the diminutive). This tendency affected all terms of grandparents, great-grandparents, father-in-law, brother-in-law, and cousin classes. The Luiseño had bifurcated merging for aunts and siblings with distinctions being made according to relative age of the parent’s siblings (R.C. White 1963:168). Other features included merged terminologies for grandparent’s siblings of the same sex; siblings were differentiated by age and sex, as were parallel aunts and uncles; nephews and nieces were recognized by age of connecting relative and sex of speaker; cross-nephews and -nieces were merged as well as parallel nephews and nieces.



At a child's birth the *nó't* of the mother's lineage performed the *šúłaxiś* ceremony, which confirmed the child to the householding group and the patrilineage (R.C. White 1963:165). Extensive dietary and activity restrictions were imposed upon both father and mother for about a month.

At puberty boys and girls underwent initiation rituals during which they were taught about the supernatural beings governing them and punishing any infractions of the rules of behavior and ritual (Sparkman 1908:221, 225). They were taught to respect elders, to listen to them, to give them food, not to eat secretly, to refrain from anger, to be cordial and polite to in-laws, to follow rituals exactly and respectfully or be subject to punishment and death by the messengers of Chingichngish (rattlesnake, spider, bear, and sickness). The boys' ceremony included the drinking of toloache (*datura*), visions, dancing, ordeals, and the teaching of songs and rituals. The girls' ceremony included advice and instruction in the necessary knowledge for married life, "roasting" in warm sands, and rock painting.

Marriage was arranged by the parents of children, sometimes at infancy. Girls were married shortly after their puberty ceremonies took place. Luiseños suggest an important concern was that spouses not be closely related, although R.C. White (1963:169-170) suggests that cross-cousin marriages may have been the norm prior to Spanish Catholic influences. Important lineages were allied through marriage. Elaborate marriage ceremonies and a bride price accompanied marriage. Residence was generally patrilocal. Polygyny, often sororal, was practiced, especially by chiefs and shamans. Divorce was not easy, but possible; widows could remarry, preferably a classificatory "brother" of her deceased husband, as a husband might marry a classificatory "sister" of his deceased wife.

Marriage was utilized as an instrument of ecology and economics. Reciprocally useful alliances were arranged between groups in differing ecological niches, and became springboards of territorial expansion, especially following warfare and truces (R.C. White 1963:130). In the twentieth century, marriages of Luiseño women into neighboring reservations have extended Luiseño influence among their neighbors, for instance, among the Cupeño and Ipai and Tipai, and on Soboba reservation.

Death was a major concern to the Luiseño. They observed at least a dozen successive mourning ceremonies. After a *tuví's* or ritual washing of clothes, a smoking purification of relatives was held and various related clans were invited to an image-burning ceremony, which ended formal mourning. Feasting took place, and food and gifts were distributed to guests. A special ceremony, the eagle killing, was held to commemorate the death of a chief.

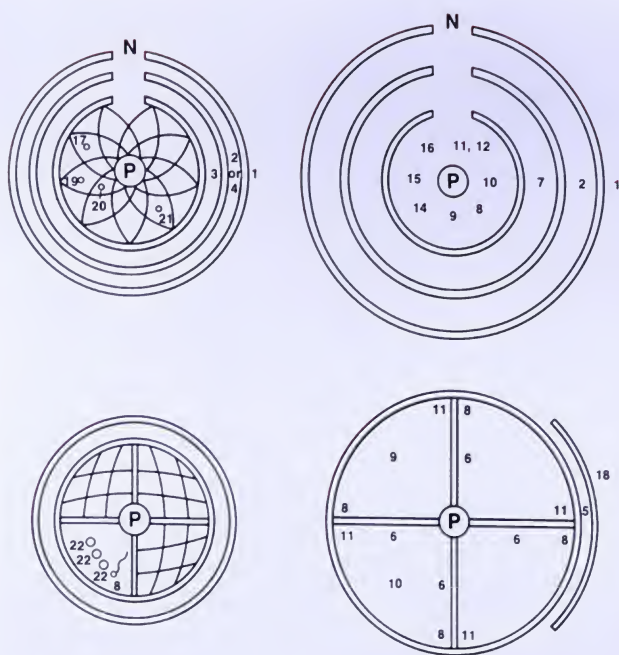
Ritual provided dramatic enactments and reciting of sacred oral literature in which ritual was initially ordained. The rituals functioned to control environment, emulate the experience of sacred persons, and guarantee their positive responses. Ritual also aided in the control of knowledge-power, which resided in varying degrees in the Luiseño world. Rituals were strictly governed by rules and procedures administered by religious chiefs and shamans, who comprised a hierarchical power pyramid dominated by the village chief, an assistant, a council, and a secret society, which included most adult males in the village. They articulated ritual and controlled hunting, harvest, warfare, in fact, all major activities of village life. The rituals are connected with the Chingichngish cult.

Most participants in rituals were paid. A guest ritual leader and his assistants—from another village or moiety—officiated. Great quantities of food and treasure goods were distributed at these affairs. R.C. White (1963) has recorded over 16 kinds of ceremonies. In addition to rites for the dead there were rites of passage—naming, birth, puberty, death, installation of new office holder. Other rituals controlled the environment, for instance rainmaking or increase of food crops or animals. Still others involved social and political controls both within and between villages, like peace making between individuals or groups.

Principal rituals conducted by the *nó't* and his organization were: (1) *má'ni pá'íś*—*datura* drinking, (2) *ántuś*—ant ordeal of puberty, (3) *nó'tuś*—pole climbing, (4) *méyiś*—hunting purification by smoke, (5) *mó'raxiś*—eagle-feather dance, (6) *pé'niś*—eagle killing, (7) *aputs* (Boscana in Harrington 1934:41)—fertility dance, (8) *háyiś*—moon racing (fertility?), (9) *čúyiś*—mortuary, clothes burning, (10) *tó'činiś*—mortuary, image burning, (11) *tuví's*—clothes-washing at birth and death, (12) *wiqéniś*—female puberty, (13) *péwluś*—marriage, (14) *né'tuś*—conception, (15) *čéłaxiś*—peace among individuals (*čéla*—'observe ritual silence'), (16) *náwtiś*—peace between parties (lineage groups) or tribes.

Sand painting was a significant ritual-cosmological component associated with most rituals; although utilized by several southern California groups, the paintings are best documented for the Luiseño. The paintings (*turó'hayiś*) were made at boys' initiation rites, girls' initiation rites, and death rites for initiates of the *datura* cult. Each painting represented various aspects of the universe, for example, the Milky Way, all-encompassing night and sky, sacred beings, and spiritual phases of the human personality, especially the punisher-beings representing Chingichngish (fig. 7). These art forms were destroyed when the ritual was finished. They were only occasionally made in the 1970s.





after Kroeber 1925:662.

Fig. 7. Sand paintings. Elements include: 1, Milky Way; 2, night or sky; 3, root (of existence); 4, our spirit or soul; 5, world; 6, hands (arms) of the world; 7, blood; 8-16, avengers and punishers sent by Chingichngish; 17, sea; 18, mountains; 19, plant hill; 20, boil or abscess; 21, four avenging animals; 22, ceremonial baskets (may be actual objects); N, north; P, pit symbolical of death and burial of ashes, the abode of the dead, or navel of the universe.

After contact, Luiseño ceremonial leaders began to die out. Lineages that no longer had ceremonial leaders and *paxá*? or requisite ritual paraphernalia associated, for ritual purposes, with lineages that did. The groups resulting from this process are now called "parties" to distinguish them from traditional ritual units (Gifford 1918).

### Cosmology

Luiseño cosmology centered about a dying-god motif and around *wiyó't*, a creator-culture hero and teacher who was the son of earth-mother (*tamá'yawut*). It was he who established the order of the world and was one of the first "people" or creations. The death of *wiyó't* was brought about by another of the first "people." This death changed the nature of the universe and led to the creation of the existing world of plants, animals, and men. The original creations took on the various life forms now existing. Some remained in contact with their descendants, while others went to different levels of the universe. After the death of *wiyó't* the "people" gathered and worked out solutions for living, including the adoption of the present spatial organization of "species" for living space, and a chain-of-being concept that placed each species into a productive, hierarchically arranged and mutually supportive relationship with all others. Thus the problems of food and space were solved by the accept-

ance of predatorship and death for all beings and things: rocks and trees lived on top of the ground, gophers lived under, men ate deer, and deer ate grasses (R.C. White 1957:9).

The disposal of the body of *wiyó't* affirmed the concept of death and established funeral ritualism. It also ended the formation of prescribed knowledge that was given to each species. The remaining knowledge that *wiyó't* threw away upon his death was known as residual knowledge. Formulated knowledge, the prescribed knowledge given before his death, became the exclusive possession of the ritual officials. Residual knowledge could be sought and acquired by anyone who had the innate ability consistent with that form of knowledge-power (R.C. White 1957:6, 8).

The acquisition and use of knowledge-power was required to be kept secret and there were constant admonitions not to divulge knowledge-power because misfortune and death would follow. The negative consequences of the misuse of knowledge-power or its potential use by an enemy made any careless sharing of knowledge unthinkable. People with knowledge-power had the right to receive more in the distribution of goods (thus ensuring a higher degree of survival in cases of shortages). Knowledge, because of its dangerous nature, was transmitted only reluctantly after the recipient had demonstrated his ability to handle that form. It had to be used specifically and unvaryingly according to set procedures and on the appropriate occasions. Failure to follow set rules at appropriate times resulted in loss of control over the particular kind of power being used and brought grave consequences to the entire community (R.C. White 1957:4).

The rank-order system in society and nature depended upon the natural innate knowledge-power adhering to a species or individual. For people, the innate ability varied with individuals, accruing most often to the families of powerful individuals. An attitude of complete fearlessness was seen to be the satisfactory state of mind for acquiring knowledge-power.

### History

Although several earlier European explorers observed the Luiseño, first contact with Europeans was in 1796 when the Gaspar de Portolá expedition arrived and San Diego Mission was founded to the south. In 1776 a mission was established at San Juan Capistrano, and 22 years later San Luis Rey Mission was founded.

R.C. White (1963:104) estimates that there were 50 Luiseño villages, with a mean population of about 200 each, thus suggesting a population of 10,000 people in contrast to Kroeber's (1925:646, 649) estimate of 4,000-5,000 people. At no time have published population figures been reliable, since many individuals and some villages were never part of the mission or reserva-



Table 1. Population

Date	Total	Men	Women and Children	Reservation Residents	Source
Precontact	10,000				R.C. White 1963
1828	3,683	1,598	2,085		Mission Records
1856	2,500-2,800 (19 villages)				ARCIA
1860	1,011				U.S. Census Office 1880
1865	1,047	536	511		ARCIA
1873	975 (10 villages)				ARCIA
1881	1,120				ARCIA
1885	1,142				ARCIA
1889	901				ARCIA
1894	784			417	ARCIA
1895	948			272	ARCIA
1914	983			983	ARCIA
1925	841			841	ARCIA
1940	721			402	ARCIA
1960	1,757			564	BIA, Sacramento

tion system; therefore, the figures in table 1 may consistently be considered as minimums. Recent counts are further skewed by the mixture of tribal groups on some reservations, for example, Pala.

Upon contact, European ideas and diseases immediately began to spread throughout the Luiseño population. Living conditions at missions and on the ranchos accelerated the population decline.

Some coastal village people were moved into mission environs. Over a period of years, Indians were brought from progressively more distant villages into San Juan Capistrano Mission where they were taught the Roman Catholic faith, Spanish language, farming skills, animal husbandry, adobe brickmaking, carpentry, and other European crafts.

The policy at San Luis Rey Mission was to maintain Luiseño settlement patterns. The priest, Father Peyri, visited villages to hold masses, perform marriages, and supervise agricultural activities; but traditional economic methods remained as the basic subsistence mode, and leadership continued for the most part as it always had.

In 1834 missions were secularized and the attendant political imbalance resulted in Indian revolts and uprisings against the Mexican rancheros, who were using many of the Indians as serfs. Many left the missions and ranchos and sought refuge among inland groups, while a few individuals acquired land grants—Kuka, Temecula (fig. 8), La Jolla—and entered into the mainstream of Mexican culture. Several Indian pueblos were established for some of the San Luis Rey Indian rancherias, among them Santa Margarita and Los Flores, by the Mexican

government. These pueblos were intended to be governmental units within the Mexican political system. Most of them disappeared under Mexican rancho pressures; Los Flores, for example, was sold to Mexicans.

Most Luiseño villages, however, continued to maintain their traditional orientation with the addition of wheat and corn agriculture, irrigation, orchards, and animal husbandry.

For the purposes of political and economic controls, the leadership roles that had been established in the mission period, such as *generales*, *capitanes*, and *alcaldes*, continued to exist and operate with political and economic, rather than religious, mechanisms. These new leaders operated in addition to religious leaders and acted as liaisons between the people and Europeans (fig. 9).

With the entrance of Anglo-Americans into California, Luiseños were displaced from more of their lands (for instance, Temecula, 1859-1877). Conflicts between Indians and encroaching Whites finally led to the investigation and establishment of executive-order reservations for some villages (for example, Pala, Potrero, La Jolla, Yapiche) in 1875. Other Luiseños were evicted from their homes and dispersed at random, some going to reservations, others to nearby towns or ranches.

Civil rights and federal protection were minimal until 1891 when the Act for the Relief of the Mission Indians established trust-patent reservations and initiated a bureaucratic management of them. Agents, teachers, medical personnel, Bureau of Indian Affairs day schools, and Indian captains, judges, policemen, and Indian courts were established. The stated function of this system was





Title Insurance and Trust Company, Los Angeles.

Fig. 8. View of Pechanga showing houses of the Temecula. Palomar Mountain is in the background. Photograph by C.C. Pierce, about 1895.

to develop a self-supporting population, which would eventually be assimilated into the mainstream of American life. Special educational institutions, day schools, and boarding schools such as Perris School, Sherman Institute, and the Carlisle School, and private boarding schools such as the Roman Catholic Saint Boniface were established to adapt Indian children to the American culture. Under the provisions of the Dawes Act a land-allotment program was established to provide land for individuals. During this time there was a concerted program against traditional authority by the federal government, which insisted that all tribally elected persons (captains, judges) must be approved by the local Indian agent. Furthermore, Indian policemen and other Indians were often employed in positions of power without regard to local feelings.

Indians continued to support themselves by farming, ranching, and various forms of wage labor, supplemented by hunting and gathering wherever still available.

Some Luiseños vigorously protested the Bureau of Indian Affairs management of the reservation, and by 1919 the Mission Indian Federation and other instrumen-

tal voluntary associations were formed to solve new problems. In 1934 the Indian Reorganization Act was rejected by Luiseños because it did not allow sufficient home rule. Nevertheless, bureaucratic control increased as federal activities on Indian reservations were expanded. The complication of the Depression affected economic life and increased bureaucracy, but considerable support to Indians came from federal agencies such as the Civilian Conservation Corps Indian Service and from economic-aid programs such as the reimbursable cattle program.

Commencing with World War I, many Indians entered the service or migrated to urban areas for defense industry jobs. Reservation activities diminished, but personal incomes increased as new jobs were available and markets improved for agricultural products. At the end of the war a resurgence of farming and cattle raising by the returning servicemen, along with increased job skills and opportunities, led to higher levels of income for most Luiseños.

Pressures for termination of federal involvement in Mission Indian affairs, which had been building since the





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Fig. 9. Capt. Pedro Pablo and his headmen from Pauma at Pala for a tribal meeting. Photograph possibly by C.C. Pierce, about 1885.

1930s, reached a peak in the 1950s. Luiseños assumed active leadership, both for and against this program. It was vigorously discussed and partially averted. In 1953, with the passage of Public Law 280 (67 Stat. 588-590) federal services were reduced to the maintenance of the trust status of the land. A period of chaotic legal problems developed because Public Law 280 did not spell out the exact areas of responsibility of states and counties in regard to law enforcement and use of Indian trust lands. Neither the public agencies nor the Indians were adequately apprised of the new relationships of Indians to local, state, and other federal agencies and the consequent changes in responsibilities.

In spite of the confusion engendered by Public Law 280, or because of it, a resurgence of local self-government and self-determination occurred. Reservation groups began to write articles of association and establish formal membership requirements in terms of degree of relationship to original members. With the beginning of the federally funded programs in the late 1960s, such as low-cost housing, manpower training, and Office of Economic Opportunity grants, the Luiseño began establishing new forms of local organizations in order to participate and take advantage of programs. Since pro-

gram funding required large populations, new organizations were developed to include several reservations, Luiseños as well as others. Luiseño participation and leadership again became prominent in state organizations such as the Intertribal Council of California, county organizations such as the Tribal Chairmen's Association of San Diego County, and regional groups such as the All-Mission Indian Housing Authority. The Luiseño appear to be more generally involved with these types of organizations than most other Indian groups in southern California. Consequently an exceedingly complex proliferation of organizations, committees, and boards working with new governmental and private agencies has developed. Some reservations belong to none, some to one or several reservation-based groups, and some to all. Final authority on any reservation is the entire adult membership. These other groups have no authority inherent in themselves in regard to the reservations. Many of the same individuals sit on several boards, but this does not indicate coordination or closeness between organizations.

Some county or state organizations have had "an Indian" appointed in order to have some Indian input into the policy level: San Diego County Welfare Council,



County Human Relations Committee, County Office of Economic Opportunity, Public Employment Program, and some local school boards.

Then there are federally funded programs that have a board of directors elected from or appointed by various member reservations on the local level or from sections of the state on the state level. The Intertribal Council of California is an example of such an Indian organization. California Indians Legal Services is another organization funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity. It is given loose policy direction by a board composed of Indians appointed from various sections of the state and several lawyers appointed by the bar association. It hires lawyers and their staffs and consultants to provide legal assistance to Indians in California. The All-Mission Indian Housing Authority has all the powers of any "housing authority." It requires a legally certified resolution to join passed by the majority of members of a reservation. To have housing on tribal land under the All-Mission Indian Housing Authority, the tribe must develop a housing area plan and lease that portion of the reservation to the Housing Authority for 50 years.

United States Public Health Service, Indian Division, is responsible for safe domestic water supplies and sanitary disposal of sewage. Individual health is the individual's responsibility. California Rural Indian Health serves only the five reservations in the northern part of the county and receives federal funds through the State Public Health for transporting people to doctors and some health education classes. The South County Business Managers supervise an unfunded outpatient clinic for which they have obtained volunteer services. Mission Indian Development Corporation was set up by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to serve all southern California reservations but in fact serves only the Luiseño.

### *Cultural Persistence*

Most Luiseño bands were in the 1970s enrolled on the reservations at La Jolla, Rincon, Pauma, Pechanga, Pala, and Soboba. In 1970 approximately one-third of the enrolled Luiseño resided on the reservations. Most others lived within a 20-mile radius in towns or on other reservations. A few lived in Los Angeles and other parts of California. Less than 1 percent lived in more distant areas. Some nonreservation Luiseño live in San Juan Capistrano and Oceanside. They are only vaguely organized as groups. The reservation groups are structured with elected councils, formal membership rolls, and articles of association.

Occupations are primarily in semiskilled or skilled categories, such as electricians, carpenters, cattle raisers, farmers, firemen, defense workers, domestics. Some are in professional positions such as teachers, professors, engineers, certified public accountants. Programs for the aged

and indigent, Medicare services, social security, and unemployment compensation are available on the same basis as for any other California citizen. Planning for improved housing and economic development of resources is actively taking place on all Luiseño reservations.

During the 1930s the Bureau of Indian Affairs day schools for southern California were gradually closed and before 1950 both grade-school and high-school students were in public schools. Educational achievement is highly valued and sought out. In the 1960s, numerous young people entered colleges throughout the state, and many adults were returning to college.

Most Luiseño in the 1970s were practicing Roman Catholics but retained an attenuated form of their pre-contact religion (fig. 10). Approximately 10 percent belong to Evangelical, Church of Christ, or other Protestant denominations. Pala Mission is active with the Verona Fathers servicing a Catholic chapel on each Luiseño reservation. A Roman Catholic elementary school has many of the Luiseño children enrolled at Pala. Major Catholic festivals are celebrated; and baptism, confirmation, marriages, funerals, and memorial services are important to most Luiseños. Protestant churches are active on La Jolla and Rincon reservations.

The original Luiseño culture persists in many forms, although it is sometimes not readily apparent to the outside observer. Philosophical assumptions (R.C. White 1957) are maintained as are certain rituals and shamanic practices. Surviving ceremonies include initiation for cult candidates, installation of religious chiefs, funerals, and clothes burning (R.C. White 1953).

While the Luiseño language is spoken by only a few elderly people, there is a revival of interest among the young and language classes have been organized. A language text has been written by a Luiseño, Villiana



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Fig. 10. Indian graveyard at Pala with personal possessions or gifts on top of the graves. Photograph probably by C.C. Pierce, about 1900.



Hyde (1971). Traditional amusements such as peon games and secularized songs and dances are continuing; Luiseño foods such as acorns, yucca, and wild game are still eagerly sought. Some traditional medicines and curing procedures are practiced, and traditional political concepts still function, although in new forms. Attitudes toward property, sexual roles, knowledge, power, isolationism, and leadership continue.

In the late 1800s fiestas celebrating saints' days for each reservation became a major activity for each Luiseño reservation, involving interreservation visitors for one, two, or three weekends of each year. These fiestas were active until about the 1920s when they were discouraged, sometimes forbidden, by the BIA. They had become a major mechanism for interreservation economic exchange as well as ceremonial, social, and political activities. They were revived after World War II on some reservations for social and fund-raising purposes.

A traditional feature indicating vigorous persistence is the peon game, a complex guessing game involving two competing groups of four players each and a referee supported by singers and magical formulas to acquire luck. To win the game, 16 counters must be acquired by guessing the ways in which black and white peons are held hidden in the hands by the opposing team. Large amounts of treasure goods and food stores were formerly wagered. Now large amounts of money are wagered on these games, which are played during fiestas. Teams represent families, and sometimes language groups or reservations. Both men and women play. The winning team and their backers are rewarded by large wagers. Individual players are renowned in the local Indian community if they possess peon skills.

### Synonymy

The Luiseños (both Juaneño and Luiseño proper) have been known by a variety of terms. The earliest use of the term Luiseño appears in Arroyo de la Cuesta (1821) and was used as the name for the language spoken by a group of Chumash living at San Luis Obispo Mission about 1821-1837. This term was later applied to the Indians living at San Luis Rey Mission (Coulter 1835:67). Pablo Tac, a young Luiseño man, gave several names for the inhabitants of Luiseño territory: Quechnajuichom (translated as 'the inhabitants of Quechla', that is, San Luis Rey), Sanjuaneños, and San Luiseños (Tac 1952:87). Coutts (ARCIA 1857:240) termed them San Luisenians, and variations of this term continue: San Luis Indians (Winder 1857:124), San Luis Rey (ARCIA 1872:682), San Luiseños (Bancroft 1874-1876, 1:460; Tac 1952:87; B.D. Wilson 1952), San Luisieños (Bancroft 1874-1876, 1:460). Kroeber (1907b:145) gives the terms Ghecham and Khecham (alternative spelling) for the Luiseños, the term being derived from *qéc* 'Mission San Luis Rey'; for

this Harrington (1933b:97) gives Juaneño *qé·ʔeč*, Luiseño *qé·ʔeš*. These terms appear to be the same as those given by Gatschet (1879:413) and Shea (1855:108): *kechi* and *kechis* respectively. In 1907 Kroeber termed the Indians living near Mission San Juan Capistrano Juaneño. Boscana's name for them, *Acagchemem*, appears to be a spelling of Juaneño *ʔaxácmeyam* or Luiseño *ʔaxášmayam* 'San Juan Capistrano people', derived from the name for the mission town, *ʔaxácmé*, Luiseño *ʔaxášmay* (Harrington 1933b:102). In the 1970s Luiseños tend to use the term San Luiseño when referring to themselves or to identify and call themselves by reservation or clan names.

### Sources

Historical sources on Luiseno begin with observations by Cabrillo in 1542 and Vizcaino in 1602. Later overland Spanish explorers (Portolá, Fages, and Mariner) described villages and activities. Mission records from San Luis Rey and San Juan Capistrano contain accounts of baptism, birth, marriage, and death. Ethnographic descriptions exist in the answers to *interrogatorios* as well as in various writings, of which Boscana's accounts (1933; see also Harrington 1934) are the most valuable. A neophyte's description (Tac 1952) adds further valuable ethnographic and historic data. Various archival resources were drawn upon by Engelhardt in his histories of various missions (1908-1915, 2, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1927). B.D. Wilson (1952) and the National Archives Luiseño files provide data about these people after the American conquest of California. In later years various federal commissions reported on the conditions of Luiseño peoples (Jackson and Kinney 1884; Smiley Commission 1891).

The earliest ethnographic account is that of Henshaw in 1884 (Henshaw 1972); the major ethnographic works begin with Sparkman (1905, 1908, 1908a), Du Bois (1904a, 1908a), and Kroeber (1906, 1908d, 1909b, 1917, 1925). They set the basic ethonographic frame to which other scholars have contributed. Gifford (1918, 1922) and Strong (1929) analyzed kinship, social organization, and ritual. Harrington, who collected extensively in the 1930s and 1940s, published (1933a, 1933b, 1934a) important new ethnographical and linguistic data. R.C. White (1963) established a new interpretation of Luiseño settlement pattern, social organization, and philosophy.

Major archival resources are: United States National Archives (War Records, Department of Pacific; Bureau of Indian Affairs files); John P. Harrington Collection, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution; Sparkman papers, Anthropological Archives, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley; and the C.H. Merriam Collection, Archaeological Research Facility, University of California at Berkeley. Major collections of Luiseño artifacts are held at the Museum of



the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York; American Museum of Natural History, New York; the Smithsonian Institution; San Diego Museum of Man; Lowie Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley; and the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles. Other archival and

considerable photographic materials are available at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California; additional material can be found at the San Diego Historical Society Junipero Serra Museum, the San Diego Public Library, and in San Diego County records.